

Message Text

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INFO OCT-01 EA-07 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07

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INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 LONDON 10820

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PGOV, PINT, EGEN, PFOR, UK, EFIN

SUBJECT: PRIME MINISTER CALLAGHAN: THE FIRST 100 DAYS

1. INTRODUCTION AND SUMMARY: JIM CALLAGHAN HAS DONE WELL IN HIS FIRST 100 DAYS AS PRIME MINISTER: DAYS MARKED BY AN ARTFUL COMBINATION OF CAUTION, CONFIDENCE, AND, TO A SIGNIFICANT DEGREE, UNDERSTATEMENT. NO RHETORICAL TRUMPETS ARE BLARING FROM NUMBER 10. CALLAGHAN SEEMS TO BE SAVING HIS PUBLIC REMARKS FOR OCCASIONAL AND IMPORTANT MOMENTS AND ISSUES. NOT UNTIL JUNE DID HE ACCEDE TO HIS FIRST FULL-SCALE TV INTERVIEW, AND IN IT HE STRESSED THE LIMITS OF GOVERNMENT'S ABILITY TO SOLVE BRITAIN'S ECONOMIC PROBLEMS AND THE CRITICAL ROLE PLAYED BY THE INDIVIDUAL. OR, AS HE SAID, "DON'T EXPECT JIM TO DO IT." WHILE SPREADING SUCH DECIDEDLY NON-SOCIALIST GOSPEL, HE HAS DEALT WITH THE ECONOMY, THE UNIONS, THE LABOR PARTY, THE OPPOSITION, AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS IN PREDICTABLE WAYS WITH LARGELY FRUITFUL RESULTS. CALLAGHAN AS PM HAS THUS FAR SKILLFULLY DONE THE EXPECTED IN FACING THE FAMILIAR. WE HAVE SEEN NO SIGNS OF HIS OFT-DISCUSSED WEAKNESSES -- SLOWNESS OF MIND, STUBBORNNESS, AND INFLEXIBILITY. BUT IT IS TOO EARLY TO JUDGE WHETHER HIS CONSIDERABLE ASSETS WILL WITHSTAND THE TOUGH MONTHS -- BOTH ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL -- WHICH WAIT IN THE YEAR AHEAD.

2. THE ECONOMY: CALLAGHAN'S PRINCIPAL PREOCCUPATION IS OF COURSE SETTING BRITAIN'S ECONOMY RIGHT, REDUCING INFLATION AND UNEMPLOYMENT, PROMOTING INVESTMENT, AND STABILIZING THE POUND. HIS MOST STRIKING SUCCESS THUS FAR, THE 4.5 PER CENT WAGE DEAL WITH THE UNIONS, WAS PRINCIPALLY A LEGACY OF THE WILSON REGIME AND OF DENIS HEALEY'S INGENUITY. NONETHELESS, CALLAGHAN'S PATERNAL HAND WAS PRESENT AT THE BIRTH OF WAGE RESTRAINT II, AS

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HE BOTH REASSURED THE UNIONS AND SOLD THE WAGE TAX BUNDLE, AND THUS A LOWER STANDARD OF LIVING, TO THE BRITISH PEOPLE. IN ASKING FOR THIS SACRIFICE, CALLAGHAN HAS CERTAINLY PRODUCED A MORE CREDIBLE IMAGE OF NON-PARTISAN LEADERSHIP THAN HIS PREDECESSOR. BY THE END OF HIS PUBLIC LIFE, "SNEAKY HAROLD" WAS AN OBJECT OF MUCH NATIONAL ADMIRATION BUT MORE DISTRUST AND CYNICISM. CALLAGHAN, ON THE OTHER HAND, DOES PROJECT A LARGE

MEASURE OF HONESTY AND SINCERITY WHEN HE APPEALS TO
BRITISH HISTORIC PATRIOTISM AND COMMITMENT TO THE
COMMONWEAL. HEARING ESSENTIALLY THE SAME MESSAGE, THE
PUBLIC TENDED TO SNICKER AT WILSON -- THEY TEND TO LISTEN
TO SUNNY JIM.

AT THE SAME TIME, CALLAGHAN HAS EVIDENCE THAT THE
BASIC ECONOMIC STRATEGY OF THE GOVERNMENT IS PAYING
DIVIDENDS: GNP UP BY 4 TO 4.5 PERCENT IN FIRST QUARTER;
INFLATION IN MAY 1976 ANNUALIZED AT 15.4 PERCENT AND
DROPPING; AND SEASONABLY ADJUSTED UNEMPLOYMENT STEADY
AT 5.4 PERCENT. NOTWITHSTANDING THESE GRATIFYING
INDICATORS, THE PRIME MINISTER HAS YET TO CONFRONT HIS
FIRST MAJOR ECONOMIC TEST. THE ANTICIPATED MAJOR
REDUCTION IN 1977-78 PUBLIC EXPENDITURE, WHICH
CALLAGHAN AND HEALEY ARE CONVINCED IS NECESSARY TO
ECONOMIC RECOVERY WILL ATTRACT WIDESPREAD OPPOSITION
IN BOTH THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT AND THE LABOR PARTY.
SOCIAL SERVICES WILL BE SLICED. CALLAGHAN THEREFORE
HAS NO EASY TASK IN PERSUADING UNIONS AND PARTY THAT

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SACRIFICE MUST FOLLOW SACRIFICE OR, AS ONE LABOR WAG
UNKINDLY PUT IT, THAT "THE PRICE OF SOCIALISM IS
CAPITALISM."

3. THE UNIONS: JIM CALLAGHAN COMES FROM THE BRITISH
TRADE UNION MOVEMENT -- HE WAS A UNION OFFICIAL FROM
L936-47 -- AND PRIDES HIMSELF ON SPEAKING THE SAME
LANGUAGE AS THE WORKING MAN. IN L969, HE WAS THE
FIRST OF THE MAJOR FIGURES OF THE CABINET TO OPPOSE
WILSON'S DOOMED ATTEMPT TO CREATE A LEGAL FRAMEWORK
FOR INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS, TO HARNESS THE UNIONS
LEGISLATIVELY. CALLAGHAN'S CREDENTIALS WITH THE TUC,
ALWAYS CLEAN, BECAME POSITIVELY PORCELAIN AT THAT TIME
AND IT WAS THE UNIONS WHICH PROVIDED THE VOTES TO
ELECT CALLAGHAN LABOR PARTY TREASURER FROM L967
ONWARDS. THUS, THE PRIME MINISTER POSSESSES A GREAT
FUND OF GOODWILL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL AFFINITY WITH THE
TRADE UNION MOVEMENT. HE IS PROUD OF THE CLOSE AND
TRUSTING RELATIONSHIP. SO ARE THE UNIONS. THIS IS,
OF COURSE, NO GUARANTEE THAT REASON WILL WIN OUT IN
THE ECONOMIC BATTLE, ESPECIALLY SINCE IT MUST
PENETRATE THE SHRINKING POCKETBOOK. BUT CALLAGHAN

HAS A BETTER CHANCE TO KEEP THE UNIONS IN THE TRACES AND PULLING WITH THE GOVERNMENT THAN ANY OTHER BRITISH POLITICAL FIGURE. THE SECOND WAGE AGREEMENT IS THE FIRST INSTANCE OF THIS.

4. THE LABOR PARTY: WILSON WAS WIDELY HATED IN THE PARLIAMENTARY PARTY AND SEEN AS A DEVIOUS AND UN-PRINCIPLED AUTOCRAT. NEARLY ANY SUCCESSOR WOULD HAVE ENTERED OFFICE WITH A RESERVOIR OF AFFECTION DAMNED UP DURING THE WILSON YEARS. DRAWING ON THIS BENEFICENCE, CALLAGHAN HAS EXPRESSED HIS WISH TO BE LEADER OF ALL THE PARTY: LEFT, RIGHT, AND CENTER. IN HIS FIRST SPEECH AS PM TO THE PARLIAMENTARY LABOR PARTY, HE CALLED FOR THE DISSOLUTION OF THE IDEOLOGICALLY CONFIDENTIAL

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BASED TRIBUNE AND MANIFESTO GROUPS. IT DIDN'T HAPPEN, BUT HE MADE HIS POINT. MICHAEL FOOT. AS LEADER OF THE COMMONS, IS SECURELY IN THE PRIME MINISTER'S GRIP AND ON THE ECONOMIC FRONT, FOOT'S RED FLAG IS NOWHERE IN SIGHT. FURTHER, THE FOUL-UP IN PARLIAMENT OVER THE BILL TO NATIONALIZE THE AIRCRAFT AND SHIPBUILDING INDUSTRIES HAS BEEN LAID AT FOOT'S DOOR. CALLAGHAN STOOD SAFELY ABOVE THE FRAY UNTIL HE SOLVED IT. CALLAGHAN HAS ALSO DEFANGED TONY BENN BY RETURNING TO THE AGING ENFANT TERRIBLE CERTAIN NORTH SEA OIL RESPONSIBILITIES TAKEN AWAY BY WILSON, AND BY TREATING BENN DECENTLY IN PUBLIC -- SOMETHING WILSON COULD HARDLY BEAR TO DO.

A GOOD NUMBER OF THE LABOR BACKBENCHERS STILL DON'T LIKE GOVERNMENT ECONOMIC POLICIES, BUT NEARLY ALL THEIR PERSONAL VENOM HAS BEEN DRAINED BY CALLAGHAN'S STRAIGHTFORWARD APPROACH TO GOVERNMENT AND PARTY BUSINESS. WHEN THE TIME COMES TO ARGUE OVER PUBLIC EXPENDITURE CUTS AND THE SPEED OF THE TRAIN TO SOCIALIST JERUSALEM, THE 30-40 TRIBUNITES MAY REBEL BECAUSE OF DOGMA, BUT THEY WON'T HAVE HATRED TO GIVE THEIR CAUSE A BOOST. THAT WILL MAKE SOME DIFFERENCE WHEN CALLAGHAN ARGUES THAT WITH HMG'S NARROW MAJORITY, LABOR ABSTENTIONS COULD COST THE GOVERNMENT A VOTE OF CONFIDENCE AND THUS FORCE A GENERAL ELECTION.

5. THE OPPOSITION AND THE HOUSE OF COMMONS: CALLAGHAN'S PERFORMANCE IN THE HOUSE HAS BEEN SUPERB. HE LACKS WILSON'S GUILF, CUNNING, AND SEARING WIT. BUT DURING QUESTION TIME, THE TORIES AND HIS OWN LEFT-WINGERS RARELY LAY A GLOVE ON HIM. HE PATRONIZES MARGARET THATCHER. HE IS A STRAIGHT-TALKING DUTCH UNCLE WHEN DEALING WITH WILLIE WHITLAW OR A MODERATELY

HOSTILE LABOR BACKBENCHER.

KNDLY AND

CHEERFUL WHEN ONE OF HIS OWN LOB HIM A HOME RUN
QUESTION. OCCASIONALLY, WHEN PROVOKED, HE EVEN
LACERATES A BACKBENCH LABOR LOONEY. ALL THIS ADDS UP
TO A RELAXED, ASSURED MASTERY AT THE DISPATCH BOX
AND THAT COUNTS FOR A GOOD DEAL IN BRITISH POLICIES.
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6. FOREIGN POLICY: AS NOTED ABOVE, BRITAIN'S
ECONOMIC DIFFICULTIES HAVE DOMINATED CALLAGHAN'S DAYS
SINCE HE MOVED TO NUMBER 10. HE QUITE CONSCIOUSLY
LEFT HIS FOREIGN AFFAIRS BRIEF BEHIND WHEN HE BECAME
PRIME MINISTER. NONETHELESS, CALLAGHAN DID PUT HIS
STAMP ON THE COD WAR CAPITULATION WHILE TONY CROSLAND
WAS IN CHINA. HE HAS MOVED TO IMPROVE THE UK LINKS
WITH FRANCE AND THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC, RELATIONSHIPS

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FM AMEMBASSY LONDON

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WHICH HAD SUFFERED FROM WILSON'S PERSONAL CHILL WITH GISCARD AND SCHMIDT. IN AGREEING TO TRY TO FIND A COMPROMISE ON THE SIZE OF THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT, CALLAGHAN MAY HAVE PUSHED HIS SEPARATE SEAT SALLY A LITTLE FURTHER BACK IN CONTINENTAL MINDS. SOUTHERN AFRICA PLAGUES HIM WITHOUT RELIEF, AS INDEED IT HAS ALL BRITISH PRIME MINISTERS IN THE LAST DECADE. AND, OF COURSE, HE HAS CONTINUED TO CULTIVATE WHAT HE BELIEVES IS THE MOST IMPORTANT FOREIGN FIELD OF ALL FOR BRITAIN -- THE UNITED STATES.

7. THE FUTURE: JIM CALLAGHAN HAS SPENT THREE AND ONE-HALF SMOOTH MONTHS AS BRITISH PRIME MINISTER WITH NARY A STUMBLE. YET HE CONFRONTS TODAY WHAT HE FACED 100 DAYS AGO: THE DILEMMA OF SOLVING THE ECONOMIC PROBLEMS OF THE COUNTRY THROUGH TOUGH SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC POLICIES WHILE AT THE SAME TIME KEEPING HIS DOCTRINAIRE SOCIALIST PARTY TOGETHER AND HIS TINY MAJORITY IN THE COMMONS INTACT. BECAUSE OF THE

CONSIDERABLE CAPITAL HE HAS BUILT UP WITH THE UNIONS AND THE PARTY, OUR GUESS IS THAT HE WILL WIN IN THE SHORT RUN AND GET HIS PUBLIC EXPENDITURE CUTS. IT WON'T BE EASY AND THE REDUCTIONS PROBABLY WON'T FOLLOW THE CITY'S PURIST PRESCRIPTIONS PRECISELY. IF JIM CALLAGHAN FOLLOWS FORM, HE WILL PUSH A COMPROMISE PACKAGE OF CUTS WHICH WILL KEEP BOTH THE TUC AND THE BULK OF THE PLP BEHIND HIM. IN THE END, HE WILL FORGE A DEAL HE BELIEVES GOOD FOR THE COUNTRY AT LARGE AND FOR THE COHESIVENESS OF THE LABOR MOVEMENT AND PARTY.

BOTH ELEMENTS ARE IMPORTANT BECAUSE CALLAGHAN LIKES BEING PRIME MINISTER. HE ENJOYS THE RIGOR AND THE POWER OF THE JOB WHICH CAME AFTER HE ASSUMED HE HAD HAD HIS LAST HURRAH. WE BELIEVE THERE WILL BE NO EARLY GENERAL ELECTION IF CALLAGHAN CAN AVOID IT. HE
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BELIEVES BRITAIN CAN BE SAVED FROM ITS ECONOMIC DISEASE, AND HE IS THE MAN TO DO IT. HE MAY BE RIGHT. BUT THE ECONOMIC VIRUS WHICH HAS CONFOUNDED SUCCESSIVE BRITISH GOVERNMENTS WILL TEST ALL OF CALLAGHAN'S KNOWN SKILLS AND THEN SOME. HE HAS ONLY JUST BEGUN.

8. EVEN IF CALLAGHAN SUCCEEDS IN MAKING BRITAIN'S ECONOMIC RECOVERY HIS MONUMENT, ONE FINAL MONSTER WOULD REMAIN. DEVOLUTION'S TIME HAS COME. THE NEXT PARLIAMENT, BEGINNING IN NOVEMBER, WILL BE DOMINATED BY THE ISSUE OF SCOTLAND'S ROLE IN THE UNITED KINGDOM. IT IS DIFFICULT TO PREDICT NOW HOW SUCCESSFULLY CALLAGHAN WILL DEAL WITH THAT DRAGON BECAUSE IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO KNOW WHAT THE SHAPE OF AN HMG SUCCESS WOULD LOOK LIKE: SCOTTISH ASSEMBLY OR NO ASSEMBLY; SCOTTISH EXECUTIVE OR NO EXECUTIVE; SCOTTISH CONTROL OVER THEIR ECONOMY AND SOME OF THE OIL PROFITS OR ABSOLUTE AUTHORITY IN WESTMINSTER. THE ONLY SAFE OBSERVATION AT THIS POINT IS THAT DEVOLUTION HOLDS THE SEEDS OF DESTRUCTION FOR CALLAGHAN'S GOVERNMENT, IF NOT FOR THE UNITED KINGDOM. NO ONE CAN SAY NOW IF THE PRIME MINISTER IS UP TO THAT CHALLENGE. WE WILL FIND OUT BEGINNING THISWINTER. SPIERS

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